Westinghouse Strikers Are Holding the Line

Help Is Needed From All Unions To Defeat Corp.

By Mose Peterson

SHARON, PA., Dec. 12 — The giant transformer plant here in this small industrial town is one of the hottest spots in the bitter nation-wide Westinghouse strike. The 6,000-member Local 617 of the International Union of Electrical workers is locked in a struggle for existence with Westinghouse —a struggle which is becoming of crucial importance for all organized labor in this heavy-industry district. It appears that the capitalist groups owning Westinghouse have decided to openly challenge the union. So far the corporation has closely followed the infamous Mohawk Valley strike breaking formula of the Thirties.

The workers at this Westinghouse plant produce the largest industrial electrical transformers in the world as well as countless thousands of small ones. The history of the past few years has been one of continuous struggle in this local — first between the I.U.E. and the now independent United Electrical Workers (U.E.), and lately against the ever-increasing speed-up

James B. Carey, Pres. of IUE, and the other national leaders of the union sabotaged the battle against the speed-up by signing a five-year agreement with General Electric. No doubt they would like to do the same at Westinghouse but a militant revolt of the rank and file, spearheaded by the 12,000-member local 601 at East Pittsburgh, has forced the union leadership to fight. By now it is probable that even James Carey will admit that this is a class struggle—not class peace.

NEW COMPANY ATTACK

After the first six weeks of the strike, the company's battle of words was sharply transformed into the organization of a "back to work" movement. The strikebreaking began at Columbus, Ohio, where the local union is weakest in a generally anti-union city.

Here at the Sharon plant the corporation announced the "back to work" movement was scheduled to begin last Monday morning, Dec. 5. The first attempt was a fizzle from the corporation's point of view. Local 617 staged a massive demonstration in front of the plant with a sprinkling of pickets from Steelworkers locals joining the battle and the "back to work" movement flopped.

The corporation intensified its efforts — with church and state beginning to function as openly capitalist institutions blatantly serving the interests of Big Business. By the end of this week, the company had received an anti-picketing injunction from Judge Rodgers. Then the company attempted to play its trump card—a group of preachers, priests and bishops announced they were going to hold a non-partisan "holy election" to see if the workers wanted to go back on the company's terms. The union responded sharply to this. Local 617 tagged the move as "company inspired" and "strikebreaking" and even the giant Steelworkers gave a growl of displeasure.

The clergy hurriedly retreated and announced their holy election was delayed. Presumably they are trying now to figure out some way to more safely mediate the class struggle from the heavenly ramparts.

With the granting of Judge Rodgers' injunction limiting picketing the corporation has stepped up its efforts at bribery and coercion. Radio and television announcements are made every

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THE MILITANT

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Negro Newspapers Demand: "Send U.S. Troops to Miss.!"

Farrell Dobbs Cites Smith Act Trial of 1940

The following letter was sent by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to the editor of the Cleveland Press:

I write to correct an error in your front-page story of Nov. 31, 1955, about the opening of the Smith Act trial of eleven leaders of the Ohio Communist Party. There it is stated that the Smith Act was "never tried in the courts until 1949."

TRIAL IN 1941

I can testify that this is incorrect because, along with 17 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO Truckdrivers Union, I stood trial in a Minneapolis courtroom under the Smith Act and was sentenced on Dec. 8, 1941. On Dec. 31, 1942 after the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal, the 18 of us began serving our sentences in federal prison.

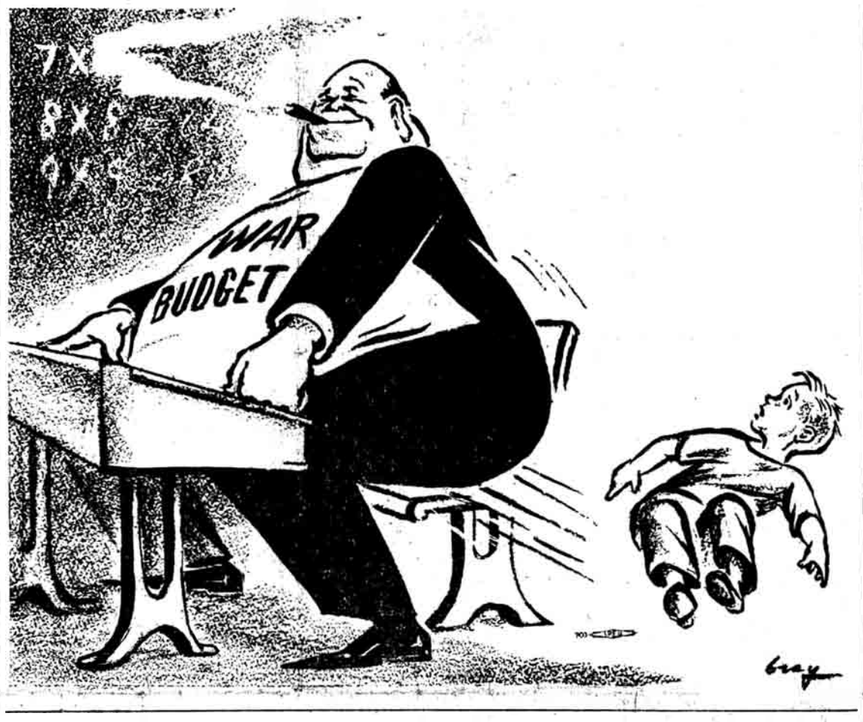
This was the first use of the Smith Act, the passage of which in 1940 had been opposed by the AFL, CIO and all civil liberties organizations. A large committee of liberals and labor figures, headed by the late Prof. John Dewey, was formed to aid the defense in this first Smith Act trial. Many unions also supported the fight. That the number wasn't larger was in part due to the machinations and open opposition of the Communist Party to all efforts to aid the defense in the Minneapolis Labor Trial.

I should like to point out that both I and my organization strongly advocate the defense of all those prosecuted under the Smith Act, including Communist Party defendants, because we believe that the primary task facing American workers today is the defense of political freedom right here at home.

In addition to the prison sentences served, I and the others convicted in 1941 under the Smith Act continue to suffer the loss of our civil rights. This caused the paradoxical situation in 1948 and 1952 of my running for President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket and yet being unable to cast a ballot in the elections. To my knowledge this situation has but one parallel in American history: in 1920 Eugene V. Debs ran for President on the Socialist ticket though he had been convicted under the Sedition Act.

Since the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has already designated myself and Myra Tanner Weiss as the party's banner-bearers for the 1956 presidential campaign, the situation will be repeated unless the campaign for restoration of the civil rights of the 1941 Smith Act victims is successful in the meantime.

The Overcrowded Schoolroom



WAR BUDGET BILLIONS COULD END SCANDALOUS SHORTAGE OF SCHOOLS

By Harry Ring

Despite all efforts to prevent it, the widespread demand for federal funds for public education broke through at the fantastically rigged White House Conference on Education held in Washington Nov. 28 to Dec. 1. Although voting was not permitted, the official conference report concedes that the delegates favored increased federal school aid "by a ratio of more than two to one."

The fact of the scandalous state of American public schools is no longer debated. Its present condition is universally described as one of "crisis." The White House conference, initiated by Eisenhower and subsidized by Congress to the tune of $900,000, was designed to conceal the refusal of the government to come to grips with the problem and also to placate mass indignation about the situation.

FRUSTRATION

The conference itself was a real Hollywood spectacular, with 1,800 delegates attending from the 48 states. But it was so set up as to prevent anything positive from emerging. The delegates were shunted off into 160 separate panels. The chairmen of these panels then met in 16 more panels to present their versions of the views expressed in the previous panels. The 16 chairmen of these sessions then split into two groups to draw up reports about the reports. Finally the chairmen of these two groups drew up the final report purporting to represent the views of the 1,800 delegates! This incredible procedure was designated as one of "distillation."

The labor delegates present branded it a "stacked" and "stalling" device. A proposal from the floor for a resolutions committee and the right to vote on the final report was vetoed by conference chairman N. H. McElroy, president of the Proctor Gamble company.

But the school situation is so bad that some of the facts had to emerge. It was officially reported that there is a shortage of 225,000 qualified elementary and high school teachers. Teachers today are on the lowest pay rung of the professional ladder with but 1.1% of women teachers earning $6,000 a year or more. One of the main factors contributing to the teacher shortage — the stultifying atmosphere of intellectual fear induced by the witch hunt — was of course not open for discussion.

A state by state tally indicated that there are now almost two-and-a-half million grade and high school students in excess of the building space occupied. No figures were made available on the shocking extent of the use of unsafe and unsanitary old buildings throughout the nation.

NOT EVEN A PROMISE

Although elections are coming, President Eisenhower could not be budged toward even the promise of adequate federal school aid. It is conservatively estimated that $30 billion are needed just to alleviate overcrowding. Last year Eisenhower recommended to Congress that $7 billion be made available for loans to the states where "need" is proven and credit is good. His filmed speech to the conference indicated little likelihood of a substantially better proposal this year.

The daily increasing crisis of the public schools is nation wide and can be resolved only on a national level. Approached on that basis it is possible to sweep aside the stock argument raised in every locality and state as to where the necessary funds can be found. The federal government is spending over $37 billion a year for weapons of war. Put that money to use for constructive work. It could tear down the overcrowded firetrap schools, provide an adequate force of decently paid teachers and pay for a host of other socially necessary tasks as well.

Dr. Theodore Howard Urges One Million to March on Washington

By John Thayer

A demand by the country's largest Negro newspaper for federal troops to end the white-supremacist reign of terror in Mississippi, and a simultaneous call by Mis-sissippi's foremost Negro leader for a March on Washington — these two events mark a leap forward in the campaign for effective action against the lynch-terror in the South.

These developments can also mark a sharp turn on the political front. Up till now Negro and labor leaders have refrained from raising demands that seriously put their "liberal friends" in the big parties on the spot. Consequently the "expedient" demands that were raised were limited and impotent. They were filed in the wastebaskets by the top Republican and Democratic leaders who are busy wooing the Dixiecrat politicians.

PITTSBURGH COURIER

The demand for sending federal troops to Mississippi immediately was launched in the Dec. 10 Pittsburgh Courier. Long one of the most influential Negro newspapers in the U.S., the Courier, with numerous regional editions, has a large national circulation. All its editions of Dec. 10 bore the huge headline: "SEND U.S. TROOPS TO MISSISSIPPI!" Then followed the editors' open letter to President Eisenhower.

The call for a March on Washington was raised by Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, leader of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Mississippi. Dr. Howard is one of the most militant of Deep South Negro leaders and played a prominent role in the vain effort to get justice in the Emmett Till lynching trial. He sent the following strongly-worded telegram to Attorney General Brownell:

"Another defenseless Negro, whose only crime was wanting to be a first-class citizen in Belzoni, Miss., U.S.A., by the name of Gus Courts, was shot Friday night, Nov. 25.

"Are you going to sit there and see us all killed, one by one, and not use the power of your office to do one thing about it? I beg of you to act before it is too late.

"I am asking 1,000,000 red-blooded Americans to march on Washington in protest to the deaf ear that you and the Administration have turned to the violence in Mississippi against Negroes."

The outspoken open letter of the Pittsburgh Courier, which supported Eisenhower in 1952, **said in part:**

"The state is **Mississippi** and the reign of terorr which **is** sweeping this section of our **nation** needs **immediate attention!**

"It has been proven **beyond the shadow of a doubt** that these Negro citizens have **no protection** under the law of the state in which they live. **State, city and county officials,** sworn to uphold the law, have made **a** mockery of those laws, when the laws apply themselves to **Negro citizens!**

"Because this is a fact, Mr. President, we request that you declare a **state of chaos in Mississippi!**

"We further request that you **send United States soldiers into Mississippi** to protect the civil rights of **a million Negro citizens** of that state, who constitute 49% of the state's population."

ANOTHER MISS. KILLING

The open letter then recites the long list of murders and lynchings recently committed with impunity by Mississippi white supremacists. [Since then a new victim, Clinton Melton, father of five, has been brutally killed by Elmer Kimbell, a friend of the Till lyncher J. W. Milam. Melton made the mistake of filling up the racist's gas tank instead of putting in only $2.00 worth. Kimbell thereupon shot the Negro gas-station attendant to death. Sheriff Strider, who pretended at the Till trial that the body pulled from the river wasn't that of Emmett Till, is busy looking "for the Negro's gun." This is a bare-faced attempt to establish the slaying as a case of self-defense, although the white owner of the gas station declares that Melton had no gun.]

The Pittsburgh Courier's open

(Continued on page 4)

First Time in U.S. History

First Negro labor leaders to win official posts in an American labor federation were named among 27 vice presidents of the AFL-CIO. They are Pres. A. Philip Randolph (left) of the Bro. of Sleeping Car Porters, and Pres. Willard S. Townsend of the Transport Service Employes.

Big Business Alarmed By AFL-CIO Merger

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Dec. 12 — The spokesmen of America's billionaire monopolists used the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, which opened here last Wednesday, a day before the close of the AFL-CIO merger convention, to open a propaganda barrage against the danger of the united labor movement forming its own independent party and "directing the destinies of the nation."

The labor officials replied with vigorous denials and insisted that all they wanted was a "live and let live" pact with the industrialists.

"SO MUCH IN COMMON"

At a highly-publicized luncheon meeting with NAM executive committee chairman, Charles R. Sligh, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, called the conflict between the unions and the corporations "silly" because "we have so much in common." Walter Reuther, now head of the industrial department of the united labor federation, denied the union would raise a huge strike fund or call general strikes.

The capitalist press sensationally reported a remark by Meany, during his conversation with Sligh. "If the NAM philosophy to disenfranchise the unions is to prevail, then the answer is clear," said Meany. "If we can't act as unions to defend our rights, then there is no answer but to start a labor party."

Top labor officials have made such "threats" before. The fact is that the labor movement has been systematically trampled upon and tricked by the capitalist parties for many decades and still the Meanys keep warning, "Watch out! You'll go too far yet!"

Why the hue and cry about the threat of a labor party? Unlike practically every major union convention in the past, there wasn't even one labor party resolution introduced; not a single spokesman for the labor party took the floor at the merger convention. It is perfectly clear that the labor officials are more deeply involved in the coalition with the liberal Democrats than ever before.

The great majority of rank-and-file unionists are still under the illusion that they can advance their class interests through support of the Democratic party in the elections. Why then the debate on a labor party?

NAM FEARS THE FUTURE

The debate about the labor party "danger" is only an echo of the impact the unification of the labor movement has made on the consciousness of the country. Despite the disclaimers of Meany and Reuther, and despite the whole capitalist-minded bureaucracy of the union move-

(Continued on page 4)

How about the 'Human Element'?

By Shirley Clark

The Senate-House Economic Subcommittee that has been conducting hearings on automation issued a report, Dec. 11, in which it predicted that many people would suffer hardships as automation advances to a level that "may well surpass the limits of modern imagination."

The Subcommittee had nothing to propose in the way of legislative action, however. It is satisfied that "both organized labor and management are aware of and intent upon seeing that these human elements [obsolete workers] are not disregarded."

Whenever capitalist politicians confront economic and social problems that they cannot solve they resort to the vague stupidities.

Concretely now, just how are labor and management going to "regard" the "human elements" in automation? The capitalist is going to fire the worker from his job when he obtains a machine that will cost him less. That is all.

And as for organized labor — the union bureaucrats support the "free enterprise" system. That means they accept the fact that the boss has the power and the right to automate his factory and fire workers he doesn't want.

Thus both the officials of organized labor and management, along with the capitalist politicians, will "regard" the "human element" with varying degrees of sympathy but can and will do nothing.

Then the Subcommittee, taking complete leave of any sense of realism, said that as a result of automation, ultimately, persons would have a choice "between added leisure and added products and comforts."

With a socialist planned economy this would be so. But the Subcommittee is not advocating a socialist reorganization of society. How is this choice to be offered to the workers under capitalism?

Automation has made a beginning already. Productivity has increased in the last ten years by at least 25%. What happened? Another Congressional subcommittee headed by Senator Sparkman (D-Ala.) reported that one family in every five in the U.S. had an annual income of less than $2 000 in 1954 — too little money to buy minimum necessities at present inflationary prices.

This is capitalism at its best. "Free enterprise" is healthiest when profits are high and the billionaires have been breaking all records in net profits.

Let's remember that rising productivity under capitalism results in depressions. During the depression of the 1930's capitalism wouldn't provide more than a miserable dole for the "surplus workers" — and even that had to be fought for.

The "nothing-can-be-done" policy of the Subcommittee is based on the claim that the capitalist system somehow, through some mysterious "adjustments" will overcome the consequences of its anarchistic organization. But that isn't what happens.

The Subcommittee would be just as honest if it announced that the whole problem of automation would be solved by an invasion of angels loaded down with the good things of life and concerned only to give them away as fast as possible.

No Prosperity for Them

Robert White, unemployed West Virginia coal miner, arrives in San Francisco with his wife and five children after hitchhiking 2,400 miles. The White's car broke down in St. Louis and they thumbed the rest of the way. The United Mine Workers Union reports 155,000 miners unemployed in the anthratice and bituminous coal industries.

A New Book On Bill of Rights

By Myra Tanner Weiss

THE BIRTH OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS by Robert Allen Rutland. Published by The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. Price: $5.00.

The author's intention, as explained in the preface, is to "aid Americans in understanding the background of their Bill of Rights . . . that they will thus regard more dearly the hard-earned rights bequeathed to them by the Revolutionary generation." This aim is commendable and perhaps historians will be glad to have the material that is presented on the subject, gathered together in one volume.

But the value of the work stops there. The author claims that "this is not a book 'with a message,'" meaning, I presume, that he is not arguing for a cause but just presenting the historical facts as they exist. This pretense of impartiality which is supposed to give the study the character of objectivity is a habit with liberal capitalist historians. But it doesn't change the fact that the author is not impartial. He writes a book "with a message" that would sell the revolutionary generation short and weaken the fighting capacity of the current movement for political freedom.

The full bias of the author is disclosed in the final chapter, titled "Since 1791." Here the author recounts briefly the struggle for civil liberties up to the present.

GOING DOWN HILL?

Rutland evaluates this history in the light of a prediction by Thomas Jefferson who said during the Revolutionary War, "The spirit of the times may alter, will alter . . . [and thus] the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis is while our rulers are honest, and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill."

Rutland replies, "The plain good sense of the American people has so far vindicated the hopes of the Revolutionary generation. To be sure, there were fewer public men inclined to speak out for strict observance of the Bill of Rights after World War II, and none made a clarion plea for freedom of expression as Jefferson did in 1801 . . ."

This is the understatement of the year. Not only have "fewer public men" spoken out for "strict observance of the Bill of Rights" but with a unanimous voice the ruling parties, Democrats and Republicans, have bent every effort to destroy the individual freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Not a single leading figure of the two capitalist parties has issued a "clarion call" for the political freedom of Marxists.

Hundreds of American citizens have been put in jail for their political views starting with 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party back in 1944. Thousands have been persecuted for their ideas, spied upon, submitted to "cruel and unusual punishment" without "due process" of a trial by a jury of peers, and deprived of their right to earn a living. Millions, as a consequence, have been politically intimidated into a state of abject conformism.

The witch-hunters have been forced to retreat recently. Still no one among the ruling parties has proposed to restore the Bill of Rights. The liberals in the government have asked only for a curb on the "excesses" of political repression.

LIBERTY VERSUS SAFETY

Rutland believes he is defending the Bill of Rights. Yet he grants the witch-hunters their principal argument. He says, "Various external pressures and the changing character of the nation itself have doubtless caused the generations of Americans since the Revolution to modify the eighteenth-century conception of the rights which the citizen possesses as inherent natural rights. Perhaps individual liberty has become a secondary concern, subordinate to the paramount issue of safety of the nation."

"Safety of the nation" has always been the argument for tyranny. The revolutionary generation rightly contended that safety lay only in freedom. The modern witch-hunters have not invented a single new argument in defense of political persecution.

It would appear from Rutland's book that "progress" in the development of individual freedom consists in the job of preserving the victory won by the revolutionists nearly two centuries ago. But Rutland doesn't even demand this much "progress" unequivocally from his contemporaries.

But history does not stand still. Today a new and higher concept of individual freedom has emerged. In Jefferson's time the concept of individual freedom was limited to the negative demand that man should not be interfered with in his political, social and economic functions. Historically this was a demand for the free development of capitalism.

In the twentieth century the working class has fought for the positive concept of society's responsibility for the economic security of the people. With the rise of the CIO in the Thirties, social security and old-age pensions established the right of the individual to a living.

With union organization the capitalist found his tyrannical economic power curbed. The worker began to realize a measure of freedom on the job where he spends most of his waking hours.

REVOLUTIONISTS OF TODAY

Socialists, the modern revolutionary organizers, extend the concept of individual freedom to include freedom from poverty and capitalist exploitation. The Marxists look forward to a far more democratic form of government where all the people will rule directly through their mass organizations. Such democracy opens the perspective of a socialist society.

With the capitalist class continuing in power individual freedom can only decline, for this class has outlived its social usefulness. In its effort to maintain its rule, the capitalist class must destroy civil liberties. Its perspective is ultimately the fascist dictatorship.

It is the historic mission of the working class not only to preserve the freedom won by our forefathers but to extend that freedom to economic life as well as political. The Rutlands cannot see this for they are not a part of the modern revolutionary generation.

Why We Say: Send U.S. Troops to Miss.

The following is another excerpt from a speech by George Breitman Oct. 7 at the Detroit Socialist Forum. We previously published a part of this speech (Oct. 17 Militant) dealing with how a Workers and Farmers Government in the U.S. would handle the Mississippi racist terror. In the portion of his speech now published Breitman discusses the demand for federal intervention in Mississippi with troops. Other sections of the speech dealt with: Why Emmett Till was lynched; was there a fair trial of the lynchers as the capitalist press and the Daily Worker claimed? and, the do-nothing policy of the labor officials. — Ed.

By George Breitman

The capitalist press in New York, Chicago and Detroit as well as the Mississippi Delta, is opposed to federal intervention in Mississippi. The Detroit News has explicitly condemned federal intervention. In their editorial on the Till trial verdict they said:

"Nothing in our reading of the trial verdict suggests that the state's prosecutor was anything less than competent, intelligent, forthright and wholehearted in pleading for conviction. If anything less than justice was done by the verdict, the dereliction was not the state's but lay in the hearts of the jury. And the cure for that is not to be found in fiat or such gestures of vengeance as the suggested occupation of Mississippi by the federal military. It lies in the longer and harder but infinitely surer process of civilizing human beings, one by one."

You'll have to look far and wide to find a crasser example of the philosophy of "gradual reform." Civilize human beings, one by one, they say—and meanwhile? Meanwhile, it may be presumed, the Negro people should sit back and submit patiently to uncivilized terrorism, content with the claim that this is the "surer process." Even the White Citizens Council could endorse such a program.

But how do you civilize human beings, be it one by one or ten by ten? By preaching them sermons on the Golden Rule? There's no shortage of preachers or Bibles in the South. By getting them to read editorials from the Detroit News? Many of them can't even read, and won't if they can. By improving the school system? They threaten to lynch anybody that tries to touch their school system. Exactly what is the News' magic formula for civilizing human beings, and how does it propose to put it into effect in Mississippi?

How to "Civilize" the Lynchers

Now we socialists also want to civilize human beings — but we don't want to wait another thousand years, or even 25 years, before it begins to happen. We want it to start now. And our program is the best way for starting it. "Civilizing" takes place in various ways—training, education, example and so on. It also takes place through laws, through compulsion, through coercion.

Murder, as you know, is uncivilized. But it's not the custom of society to rely for the prevention of murder simply on changing the hearts of men. Society also provides laws against murder, and harsh penalties against murder, and armed forces in the person of policemen whose presence is supposed to discourage or reduce the incidence of murder. All this is a well-known part of the civilizing process in Michigan too — and we haven't heard the News complaining about it or demanding that the Michigan anti-murder laws be repealed or that the Detroit homicide squad be dissolved.

But if this is how the civilizing process works in Wayne County, Mich., why should it be different in Tallahatchie County, Miss.? Why then does the News complain when we propose, through federal intervention with troops, to advance the civilizing of Mississippi and to assist in changing the hearts of some human beings there by showing them that they will no longer be able to get away with murder and that they will surely be punished severely if they don't respect the rights of their fellow human beings?

Federal intervention — we socialists are not the only ones calling for that. The NAACP is also calling for federal intervention; I've already read you what Arthur Johnson of the Detroit NAACP said about "telegrams and letters to the President and the U.S. Attorney General urging federal intervention." But in at least two respects the NAACP proposal on federal intervention is deficient, and must be altered. One concerns the nature of the federal intervention required; the other concerns the methods employed for securing federal intervention.

The Washington Runaround

We say federal intervention with troops will be necessary, just as they were needed in the days of Reconstruction. The NAACP leaves its demand vague and unspecified. The advantage of what we propose is that it is clear, it is plain, it is unmistakable, and therefore it has the ability to arouse and encourage and inspire a fighting mass movement; and the disadvantage of the NAACP proposal is that it is vague, it is ambiguous, it is subject to different interpretations and therefore runs the risk of not making a real impact on the thinking of the millions of people in this country who have been asking what they can do about the Till case.

Not long ago, on Sept. 7, about a week after Emmett Till's body was taken from the Tallahatchie River, a top NAACP delegation met in Washington with Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III and urged the government "to delay no longer in calling a halt to the jungle fury unloosed in Mississippi." They asked for "affirmative action," but what kind of affirmative action was not clear. And in response they got a runaround.

Bureaucrat Olney told them that the matters relating to denial of the vote in Mississippi and the killings of Lee and Lamar Smith "are under investigation" and the Department of Justice "will determine what action can be taken on the basis of the evidence and the law when the investigation is completed."

As for the Till case, he told them, the Department had looked into it and reached the conclusion that it was not a federal case but one within the jurisdiction of the state of Mississippi. He said they're "concerned with the situation" and their agents have had the various complaints under investigation since the killing of Rev. Lee last May, but he couldn't say what action would be taken until all the facts were in and the powers under the civil rights laws were fitted to the facts uncovered. As I said —a runaround. The same kind of runaround the NAACP has gotten in all such cases, including the lynch-murders of NAACP leader Harry T. Moore and his wife Harriet in Florida almost 4 years ago—which is also still under investigation.

We used to be told that kidnaping was a federal offense, and the FBI usually moves in on kidnaping cases. But the kidnaping of Emmett Till is different somehow, and the FBI agents evidently can't be spared from their witch hunt against radicals to intervene in this kidnap case.

Will Federal Govt. Send Troops?

The trouble with the NAACP, obviously, is that it is not asking enough. It is asking the government to intervene on the basis of the so-called federal civil rights laws, which the government practically never invokes or enforces. That plays into the hands of the ones who are giving us a runaround. Instead of confining the demand to these civil rights laws, which are so limited that the most anyone punished by them could get is a year in prison anyhow, the NAACP should sweep aside the legal technicalities and go to the heart of the matter, intervention with U.S. troops. The raising of this demand will produce a tide of enthusiasm and militancy among the American people, inspire them and give them a goal worth fighting for. It could clarify things and bring them to a head. That's why we say the demand for federal intervention should be clarified, expanded and concretized.

The second fault with the NAACP demand is the method they are using to obtain federal intervention. This is obviously a big demand, and obviously the government will not do it if it can get out of it. Sending a delegation to Washington to meet with an assistant Attorney General is all right for the record, but it achieves nothing.

To ask for federal intervention is not enough; you must also **fight** for it. And the only way to fight for it effectively is by mobilizing the people **in action**—in action that goes beyond the scope of sending letters and telegrams. The government has to be shown that the people want federal intervention, and that they want it badly, and that they are and will be angry with anyone who stands in the way of their getting it — in a word, that they are fighting mad and ready to act on their own if the government refuses their reasonable request.

This means the organization of mass action — mass meetings and demonstrations and marches —both here and in Washington —bringing out on the streets millions of people expressing their indignation and demands. The Negro people of this and other cities have already shown in the last weeks their readiness and eagerness to do something, to fight. Instead of being calmed and told to wait indefinitely, while the Department of Justice makes up its mind what arguments it will use to justify non-intervention, the mass of the people should be encouraged to show their will and their temper in militant acts. That's the only kind of language the government and the ruling class understand anyhow. And it's the duty of the NAACP to speak this kind of language itself.

* * *

One other question has to be faced, and it had better be faced squarely. Will the federal government intervene, will it really step in and do something to stop the terror in Mississippi? We can start the answer by saying one thing for sure—it positively won't unless there is a mass demand and a mass struggle for federal intervention.

If left to its own, this capitalist government will never intervene in Mississippi in any effective manner. That was made clear by the Sept. 7 meeting of the NAACP leaders with the Department of Justice, and it's made clear by the long list of hundreds of unpunished lynchings, shootings and beatings that have taken place in the South since the end of World War II, under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

But will the government, whose record shows that it is not at all concerned or displeased by the Jim Crow system, will it intervene if there is a mass struggle and mass pressure for it? Here an absolute answer is difficult. The government will be reluctant whatever happens, it will try to duck and to take only half-way and partial measures if it is forced to take any, but the final answer will depend on the relation of forces, on the outcome of the struggle between those who want Jim Crow terrorism ended and those who want or are willing to see it continued. It will depend above all on the power that can be brought to bear by both sides in this struggle — and that is a political question.

We Must Form a Labor Party

Federal intervention in Mississippi implies two things, if you're serious about it and carry the fight for it through to the end. It implies political action, for one thing, and it implies political action of a different kind than has been practiced by the labor and Negro movements up to now. It implies political action independent of the two major parties which are tied indissolubly to Jim Crow and the capitalist system that breeds Jim Crow and profits from it.

If you're consistent, it means breaking with the two old parties and forming a new party, a Labor Party, that will unite the labor, farmer and Negro movements, run its own candidates for office all over the country and seek to elect them with the aim of taking political and economic power away from the present capitalist rulers, including the rulers of the South, and putting it in the hands of the working people and their allies among the working farmers and the Negro people.

Anybody who wants to fight for the end of Jim Crow, anybody who takes up the struggle for federal intervention in Mississippi and carries it through to the end, will find in the course of the struggle that only such a break with the parties of Big Business and Jim Crow reaction, only the formation of a Labor Party and the fight for the establishment of a workers and farmers government can actually assure consistent and effective federal intervention and successful measures to smash the Jim Crow system.

The Cause and Cure of Jim Crow

I want to conclude now by saying this: It's not enough to be indignant at the killing of Emmett Till, it's necessary also to understand it, its cause and its place in the total picture of American life. If you probe it, you find that the story of Emmett Till has its roots in the past; that it began to unfold long before he was born, when a struggle was taking place in this country over the kind of social system that was to replace chattel slavery in the South: that it is linked to devious schemes and ambitions in Washington, to calculations of profit and plots for power in Wall Street, to aspirations for equality by millions of people in Chicago, Harlem, Detroit and Atlanta; and that the final word in the story of Emmett Till has still not been spoken.

Emmett Till's death reveals a mortal sickness in American society, a sickness that can be cured only by a fundamental reorganization of our economic structure and our social relations, a reorganization that can be achieved only through a radical political change. The only sure and complete way to avenge Emmett Till is by destroying the conditions and abolishing the institutions that made such an atrocity possible in the first place.

That means you, and the rest of the American people, have to make up your minds and take your stand—you've got to declare war against white supremacy in all its forms, manifestations and guises; you've got to declare war against all who support, defend or apologize for Jim Crow — and above all its political supporters, defenders and apologists, that is, the two capitalist parties whose hands are stained with the blood of thousands of Emmett Tills.

It means fighting these enemies, not temporizing or compromising or collaborating with them in any way. It means building a new leadership in the labor and Negro movements, and a new party representing their common interests. This is not an easy road, but it is the only one that can lead us to a world of brotherhood, freedom and equality.

Proposes Action

EMIL MAZEY, Sec.-Treas. of the United Auto Workers, proposed at the AFL-CIO merger convention, that the U.S. Congress "give serious consideration to Federal legislation that would place the State of Mississippi under a Congressional trusteeship until the Bill of Rights, the rights of all the citizens of that state, are assured and guaranteed."

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	$ 250	$ 199	80
Detroit	825	520	63
Buffalo	1,760	1,048	60
Twin Cities	1,320	704	53
New York	3,520	1,736	49
Seattle	200	93	47
Chicago	1,760	793	45
Philadelphia	440	200	45
Los Angeles	3 300	1,337	41
Newark	200	81	41
St. Louis	85	35	41
Cleveland	350	140	40
Youngstown	250	100	40
Boston	500	132	26
Oakland	300	72	24
Allentown	85	20	23
San Francisco	800	117	15
Pittsburgh	100	10	10
Akron	140	0	0
General	—	10	—
Total through Dec. 13	$16,185	$7,347	45

SOCIALIST FUND DRIVE NEARS HALF-WAY POINT

By Reba Aubrey

The $16,185 Socialist Publication and Press Fund has now passed the half-way mark. A total of $7,347 has been paid through Nov. 13 by supporters of the fund. This is 45% of the goal to be reached by Jan. 31. We slipped a little during the week and are now 11% behind schedule.

Milwaukee with 80% of its quota has held first place in the campaign almost from the start.

A check for $183 moved **Detroit** into second place with 63% of its $825 quota. **Janet McGreager** writes: "We are quite sure to have the full amount in and on time. As a matter of fact, we have had a couple of increases in some pledges and this may make it possible to go over our quota. At least this is what we're trying for here."

Buffalo is 4% ahead of schedule with 60% of its $1,760 quota.

In line with the campaign slogan — IN FULL AND ON TIME — those cities lagging behind are striving to bring themselves on schedule. For instance, **Fannie Carter** sent the following airmail letter for the **Twin Cities** — just in time for the current scoreboard: "We have just completed a very successful social as a result of which we are sending $133 on our Publication Fund quota. (It is now 2 A.M.) I wanted to get this off to you tonight so that we would make the scoreboard; it is quite maddening to be just one day late. We are doing all we can to keep in pace."

Hildegarde Swabeck hopes that **Chicago** will "get caught up by the next scoreboard. But Christmas is just around the corner and that takes the extra cash out of all the pockets around here. Anyhow, we'll sure get there well under the wire!"

Pearl Spangler likewise expresses confidence that **Philadelphia** will reach its goal by Jan. 31 in spite of the fact that some of the fund supporters there "have been hit by the Westinghouse strike."

Los Angeles sent in $439 which pushed them from 27 to 41% of their $3 300 goal.

St. Louis increased its total by $15 and "hopes to have more on the fund soon."

A payment of $50 on **Boston's** quota came with this note from **F. Franklin:** "Enclosed is some more of that 'stuff.' We hope to accelerate our pace and quantity in the latter part of the month and catch up percentagewise in January."

Bill Morgan mailed in $17.25 for **Oakland:** "It is the proceeds from our Debs Memorial Dinner. I wish I had more to send but this is it for now. We will get in under the wire, but most likely along toward the end."

"We are behind; maybe we can catch up soon," says **T. Wilson** for **Cleveland.** "We shall try harder."

Allentown explains: "We haven't done too well yet with the fund, but I'm sure we'll be able to make a much better showing shortly."

Pittsburgh pulled out of the zero column with its initial payment of $10.

Appreciation of the determination shown by all fund supporters can best be expressed by pointing out that completion of the Socialist Publication and Press Fund IN FULL AND ON TIME assures carrying out our plan for a broad publications program of socialist literature.

. . . Westinghouse

(Continued from page 1)

15 minutes asking workers to come in any gate, any time. A ten dollar cash advance at the end of each day is offered as well as time-and-a-half for Saturday and double time on Sunday. Plant foremen are calling all workers by phone and visiting them at their homes. Foremen are also becoming more arrogant in wheeling their cars through the picket line.

STILL A FLOP

Despite all this activity the corporation has managed to get but slightly over 100 workers back at the Westinghouse Sharon plant.

Now how are the workers meeting the company attack?

So far the union here has fought back with great skill and courage. But the time is now at hand when the IUE strikers must have substantial reinforcements if they are to win. These reinforcements are all here. Nearly 100,000 steelworkers are in this district. All that is necessary is to arouse them.

There are hopeful signs that the corporation's plan to lynch the local at Sharon is beginning to do this. It has alarmed the steel union leaders and enraged some of the rank and file. Financial contributions are increasing. James P. Griffin, Steelworkers District Director and President of the Ohio State CIO, has called on all local unions to support the Westinghouse strike.

THE NEXT STEP

Militant unionists here feel that what is now needed is a mass meeting or a series of mass meetings in Warren, Sharon, Newcastle and Youngstown carrying the clear implication that the giant district steelmills will be shut down in a general strike unless the bribery, coercion and violence at Westinghouse comes to a halt. Such a demonstration, coupled with the awakening of thousands of additional workers would probably force Westinghouse to settle.

On the other hand, a defeat here in this highly organized and heavily working class district would have far-reaching and damaging effect. **All out aid —all out support must be given the Westinghouse strikers. It is one of the most important union struggles of recent years.**

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The official line of the AFL-CIO leadership that the boss and the workers have identical interests has been assiduously promoted around here. **But the 6,000 men and women in Sharon Local 617 have shed these illusions quite rapidly these past few weeks. They know there is a class struggle and they are right in the middle of it. They know their jobs and their future are at stake. They have seen the law and the church line up with the company and they are learning that the boss is a hated enemy and a potential killer.**

Many of these strikers are young men experiencing their first sharp battle with the boss and they are fighting mad. The extremely rapid transformation of these workers into a class conscious and united fighting force is a clear demonstration of the rapid development the working class in the whole country will take under similar conditions.

Nationally, Westinghouse has attacked the weakest locals first. They led off at Columbus, Ohio, where they have lured some 500 out of 5,000 back to work. Locals in Mansfield and Lima, Ohio, are firm with only a handful at work. The UE local in Philadelphia is solid as well as the IUE locals at Newark, N.J., and Buffalo, N.Y. So far the corporation has not dared to attempt union busting at the giant 601 local in East Pittsburgh. This is where the revolt against the speed-up started.

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Speaker: Joyce Cowley

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Labor's Stake In the Fight For Negro Equality
By Jean Simon
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Pioneer Publishers
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New York 3, N. Y.

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Our Program on Civil Rights

The demand of leading Negro newspapers that the federal government send troops to Mississippi and Dr. Theodore Howard's resounding call for a March on Washington (see story page one) marks a new stage in the movement to put a stop to racist terror in the South. The Militant is proud that it consistently proposed these measures to the movement aroused by the Till lynching atrocity.

During the great wave of meetings that swept the country following the whitewash verdict of the Till lynchers, many demands and proposals were voiced. But a thought-out and effective demand was lacking. The anti-Jim Crow forces suffered from a lack of a coherent program and a unified battle plan.

In the light of the notable progress that is being made to effectively mobilize the vast sentiment for action against the white supremacist rulers of Mississippi, we feel it would be useful to restate our three-point program to smash Jim Crow terrorism.

(1) Demand that the Government send troops to Mississippi to protect the one million Negro people living there from the white supremacist reign of terror. Keep the troops there until all the people, including the 49% who are now disenfranchised, can freely elect their own government and end the Jim Crow dictatorship.

(2) Urge the newly-merged labor movement to launch a militant crusade to unionize the South. Such a drive would bring to the South a powerful ally of the embattled Negro people who are now, according to all reports, taking active measures to defend themselves from the widespread violence of the racists.

Union militants, trained and hardened in picket-line battles against the open-shop interests, would provide much needed reenforcement to the organized defense efforts of the Southern Negroes. The unionization of the South would in addition strike at the very roots of Jim Crow: the low-wage, open-shop, industrial and agricultural Southern system.

(3) Organize a March on Washington to confront the next session of Congress in January with a gigantic mobilization of delegates from every local union and Negro organization in the U.S. with the demand for immediate federal intervention in Mississippi and the passage of civil rights legislation.

The Auto and Packinghouse Workers unions have announced that a Union-NAACP Washington mobilization is planned in January. However, there is no sign that top union or NAACP officials are doing anything to make such a mobilization more than the usual routine lobbying effort which has failed so miserably in the past.

The recent statement by Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, courageous Mississippi Negro leader, calling on "one million red-blooded Americans" to March on Washington to demand civil rights, should give a powerful impetus to the mass movement behind this project.

The need of the hour is serious, practical preparations for the Washington mobilization. Through a giant nation-wide demonstration the whole civil rights movement can focus its great power and achieve significant results.

Support the Westinghouse Strike?

The chips are down at Westinghouse! This giant corporation is bringing weapons from the dark recesses of its strikebreaking arsenal — weapons not seen in a major strike since the 1930's. One has only to read our front-page story from Sharon, Pa., to see the old Mohawk Valley Formula in use again.

The Wall Street Journal gloatingly prints the box score of Westinghouse's two-week old back-to-work movement at seven plants singled out for maximum treatment at this stage of the strike. But the picket lines at all plants — 30 organized by IUE and 10 others by UE — are holding heroically.

The workers are scorning the back-to-work bribes of the company. They aren't taken in by offers of advance pay and "Christmas pay." The company, whose religion is sweating profits from the workers' hides, have mobilized a committee of clergymen to champion the back-to-work campaign. The workers have called this committee what it is — a bunch of strikebreakers and company tools.

But the Westinghouse strikers have been out over two months now and they need help. They are facing more than the usual strike situation — the story from Sharon, Pa., shows how the steel corporations are collaborating with Westinghouse — and the AFL-CIO has to make a more-than-usual effort. Money, picket reinforcements, moral and publicity support, and, where needed, general work stoppages by all union workers is called for.

All mass production workers should engage in solidarity actions with the Westinghouse strike for it is literally their cause. The big issues of the strike are speed-up and five-year contracts. All mass production workers have suffered from, or are in danger of, both.

If the speed-up artists win over the Westinghouse workers then the pattern is that much more firmly fixed in all U.S. industry.

Big Business thinks the unions have become soft. They believe the labor-loves-capital lullaby sung so long by the union bureaucrats has lulled the ranks to sleep. Their test-run in union-busting at the Perfect Circle plants has persuaded them other unions can be smashed.

But Perfect Circle opened the eyes of a lot of workers. Moreover, the Westinghouse strikers are demonstrating that any softness induced by their "labor-statesmen" leaders is quickly shed. But they can't do the job all alone.

The chips are down at Westinghouse! What are you doing to help the embattled strikers? What is your union local doing?

The Factory Witch Hunt

Several weeks ago the Civil Service Commission revealed that its witch-hunting department maintained a card-index file of two million allegedly "subversive" Americans. But this is merely the file for the use of government agencies in hiring and keeping the federal employment payroll "pure." The anti-labor corporations are building up their own "subversive" lists and this is one field where private enterprise may outstrip the government.

Encouraged by the government-sponsored witch hunt the bosses are finding the "industrial security" racket a perfect device for weakening unions, abrogating contract provisions, and weeding out "troublemakers," which in front office lingo means militant unionists.

The National Industrial Conference Board, a labor-hating agency of Big Business, explained to its members the security-racket pay-off as follows:

"But even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, industrial security can pay off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote excessive grievances, slowdowns, and strikes and encourage workers' antipathy toward management."

An article entitled "A Trap For Labor" in the Dec. 3 Nation details the varied ways in which the employers are using the so-called industrial security program against labor. First, an employer with any kind of a defense contract gets his entire plant classified as restricted. This necessitates security clearances for practically every worker. Moreover, the boss now has a chance to sit in judgment on all his employes' "loyalty" by confidentially communicating to the local boards (set up by the brass hats) any facts, half-facts, rumors or outright lies, which to his mind indicates a worker's presence in the factory **might not** be "clearly consistent with the interest of national defense."

Suing City Hall is simple compared to the task faced by the worker who tries to fight back once the boss has begun to give him the security "treatment." In the eastern region alone there are more than 1,100 cases piled up. Accusers are never seen, nor cross-examined by the worker or his attorney. The criteria of the government witch hunt prevails. Cases usually take from six months to a year.

Employers, the NLRB and arbitrators are extending the witch-hunt precedents set by the industrial security racket to industries which have not the remotest connection with "defense." "Loyalty" firings in violation of union contracts in the newspaper and entertainment industries show how far afield it has spread.

The union officials, to their everlasting shame and disgrace, participated in the factory witch hunt from the very beginning. They have fingered militant unionists and conveniently disposed of opposition groups by working with the FBI and management. Now the fire has spread. The security of the unions as such is threatened. Words of alarm have been uttered by Reuther and other officials. Good! But let's tear down the witch hunt from top to bottom. Let's understand once and for all that collusion with the witch hunters is the worst form of scabbery.

"Democratic" Brainwashing in Kenya

By George Lavan

When Secretary of Defense Wilson's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War made its report, the "brainwashing" charge that the American press had been screaming about for several years blew up. The report showed that the major cause of violations of the military code by U.S. POWs in Korea was lack of conviction (the report says "knowledge") about the "American Way" and lack of belief in U.S. war aims.

"Brainwashing," on closer examination turns out to be but a variety of the third degree, with the usual tortures and threats that the police of the U.S. as well as of every other country, including the Stalinist GPU, have long used on helpless victims. "Most of the prisoners, however," the report said, "were not subjected to brainwashing." This intensive police treatment was reserved for the unfortunate few from whom "germ-warfare confessions" were to be extracted.

The number was considerably less than the yearly number of Negroes in the U.S. who get the made-in-the-U.S.A. brainwashing and end the torture only by signing the demanded confessions

"DEMOCRATIC" STYLE

But in Kenya the British imperialists are trying "brainwashing" on a large scale. Not, of course, the brutal variety that only those on the other side use but, rather as John Hughes, Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Kenya, puts it, a "fairly democratic form of brainwashing."

One of the bloodiest and most barbaric massacres in history is taking place in Kenya — and, contrary to the picture painted by the U.S. press, the savagery is being committed by the "civilized" British imperialists and not by the Kikuyu people, who, rather, are the victims.

British figures released at the end of October showed that in the three-year emergency 9,802 Mau Mau were killed as against 32 white civilians. Official figures are usually lying figures. The number of Kikuyu killed by the British, who are using the most modern weapons including bombing planes, is probably much too low. To it should be added thousands lynched by the white settlers or killed by the imperialists and then listed as native victims of the Mau Mau.

The figure of 32 whites is probably doctored in the other direction. Hoaxing world opinion with the propaganda that the Kenya people had organized to massacre the whites, the fascist-minded European settlers started a fierce campaign against the Kikuyu people, which in turn provoked reprisals.

But into the figures of whites killed, the British lumped deaths of white storekeepers killed in hold-ups, etc. Probably several of the white "Mau Mau victims" were ordinary murders by other Kenya whites, who are notoriously heavy and violent drinkers and jealous husbands. But it all conveniently swelled the figure to the "massacre" of the white settlers to the imposing total of 32 in three years.

JOMO KENYATTA

MASS SLAUGHTER

The whole campaign was aimed at smashing the Kikuyu people, the largest and most advanced tribe in Kenya. Even the name Mau Mau, which the Kikuyu people had never heard of, was invented by the white newspapers of Kenya who also started the fake cry that there was a plot to kill all whites. The political organization of the Kikuyu, the Kenya Africa Union was outlawed and its leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta, jailed. Then a campaign of extermination was begun by the settlers. Villages were burned; men, women and children murdered; the remainder fled to the forests, formed guerrilla bands and began to fight back. Then, of course, the settlers could point to "proof" of the existence of the Mau Mau.

So scandalous did the situation become that early this year the British had to transfer a "strong" general to the command in Kenya — not because of the Mau Mau, but to keep the white settlers in hand. Drunk on their orgy of blood, they were becoming so impractical that the possibility existed of their killing off the whole Kikuyu population. The British Colonial Office was against this, because then who would be left to do the work of the colony at starvation wages? Certainly not the "ladies and gentlemen" of the colony.

"CONFESSIONS"

Therefore the British have instituted—much to the disgust of the settlers whose motto is "kill 'em all"—a "rehabilitation" program for some 70,000 Kikuyus rounded up alive. The Christian Science Monitor correspondent described its workings at a concentration camp named Tebere. Thousands of prisoners are behind barbed wire. They shout greetings to the concentration camp commandant whenever he enters the enclosure. After the day's hard labor, "confession" sessions are held.

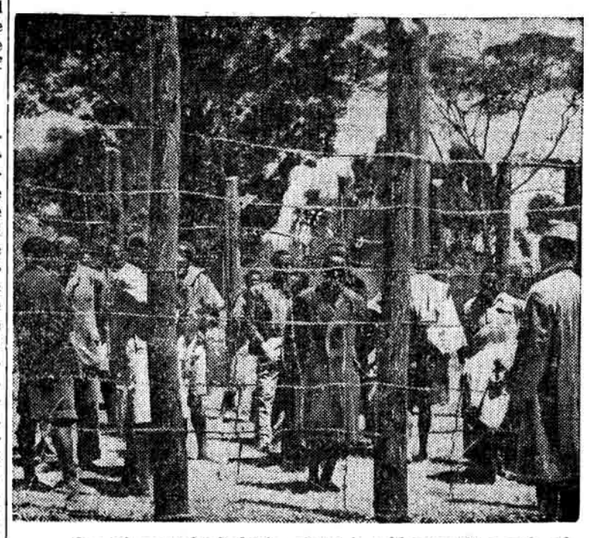
"When one man, segregated from the more vicious Mau Mau leaders, confesses others soon follow. Their confessions incriminate more and more," writes the American visitor.

In addition to being taught how to confess, the prisoners are propagandized on government, history, etc. This, no doubt consists of descriptions of how fine British colonial government is, and how the Kikuyu have no historic right to the restricted "white highlands" of Kenya, which historically and ethically belong to the European settlers, who use only a fraction of it but keep it from the land-hungry Kenyans. In addition, Christianity is taught, but the "right" kind. Though most Kikuyu were Christians before, they had a "wrong" version which didn't teach that it was sinful to ask for the land and for self-government.

After his glowing description, the American correspondent allows a doubt to creep into his article. He writes: "And at Tebere any police-court reporter who has heard a witness stumble in court for dates and figures would hold suspect some parrot-fashion testimonies in which dates, times, and figures of four and five years ago were given so glibly."

Definition from the imperialist dictionary: Brainwashing — brutal method of extorting false confessions, when employed by the "Communists"; a form of rehabilitation and means of getting true confessions when practiced by the imperialist "free world."

Kenya Concentration Camp



One of many barbed-wire cages in which 70,000 people of the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya are herded by the British. These concentration camps are designed to crush all African aspirations to independence and a decent future. Kenya's population is one-tenth as large as Britain. But the prison population is ten times larger.

Khrushchev, Bulganin Get Huge Asia Welcome

By Daniel Roberts

DEC. 14 — The current visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India, Burma and Afghanistan has met with cries of anguish and rage from U.S. Big Business spokesmen. "At the moment, the world is shaped less to American liking than at any time in years," declared the Dec. 2 U.S. News and World Report. Both the N. Y. Times and N. Y. Herald Tribune announce that the cold war is on again because of the Soviet officials' anti-imperialist speeches and their offer of economic aid to India, Burma and Afghanistan.

While the Soviet leaders were appealing in their speeches to the profound desire for peace among the Asian masses, Secretary of State Dulles rattled the saber in a speech on Dec. 8 designed to counter the Khrushchev-Bulganin tour. He boasted of the U.S.-sponsored system of military alliances directed against the Soviet bloc and revived the threat of "massive retaliation." He said its use would be "selective and adapted to the occasion" — in effect, a threat of Korea-like "police actions" against new colonial revolutions.

DULLES' GOA STAND

That this bellicose stand was meant as a warning not only to the Soviet Union but also to the Asian countries playing host to Khrushchev and Bulganin is indicated by Dulles' move prior to the speech. On Dec. 2, he issued a joint statement with the Portuguese Foreign Minister Cunho upholding by inference Portugal's hold on Goa, a colony carved out of Indian territory and held by force. Dulles' stand placed the weight of the U.S. government squarely behind Portugal's violation of Indian territorial integrity in retaliation for India's assertion of independence in dealing with the Soviet Government.

What incenses and dismays the Wall Street spokesmen is above all the tumultuous greeting the Indian and Burmese masses have accorded Khrushchev and Bulganin everywhere on the tour. **For instance in Calcutta, two million people turned out to welcome the Soviet officials. "Oldtime residents of Calcutta," reports A. M. Rosenthal in the Nov. 30 N. Y. Times, "said they had never seen anything like it, not for Mohandas Gandhi or Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru nor for Indian independence day."**

Although in Burma there was no duplication of the Calcutta turnout, Robert Alden reports in the Dec. 8 N. Y. Times that "observers . . . are agreed that it would be a mistake to underestimate the impact that the Russians have made on the country." He reports further the reception for Bulganin and Khrushchev at Rangoon University. "Some of the girls wept openly. The boys showed their enthusiasm with clenched fists."

The anti-imperialist speeches of the Soviet officials everywhere met with complete popular agreement. "The demonstration in Jaipur where 200,000 people greeted them at the airport was proof," says the Dec. 9 N. Y. Times, "that the embarrassment felt in high Indian official circles over the tough anti-Western speeches the Soviet leaders have been making was not shared by the crowd. The Russians have been talking the kind of language that makes a hit in Asia — anti-colonialism and peace."

TRIBUTE TO SOVIET WORKERS

The tremendous outpouring for Khrushchev and Bulganin is not a tribute to their personal popularity. These two Soviet bureaucrats were unknown to the public until after Stalin's death. They were greeted by the Asian masses as symbols of the Soviet state. "There is a psychological affinity between this country and the Soviet Union," says the N. Y. Times Calcutta correspondent. "As far as millions of Indians are concerned Russia is an example of an underdeveloped country that has succeeded in becoming a big and important power."

The "psychological affinity" doesn't stop there. The workers, peasants and students of South Asia greeted not only the achievements made by the Soviet Union despite bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy, and the Kremlin tyranny, but the event which made these achievements possible: the October 1917 revolution. In that overturn, the Russian workers and peasants kicked out landlords and capitalists and shut out foreign imperialism, which had economically subjugated Czarist Russia.

Since then imperialism has been seeking to overthrow the socialized property relations established by the Russian Revolution. The U.S. government is currently building military alliances to accomplish this purpose. But because of the growing enmity to U.S. imperialism — made keener by the Dulles-Cunho statement on Goa — the "affinity" of the South Asian masses is for the principal target of imperialism's war-making plans.

On Dec. 8, the Soviet Union and Burma concluded an economic agreement whereby the Soviet government will furnish Burma industrial plants, undertake major irrigation projects and prepare an agricultural development program. In payment, Burma is to deliver all the rice she can now ship from her large surplus and the balance in kind over several years. The Soviet government has also offered to construct a technical institute at Rangoon as a gift to the people of Burma.

REFUSED U.S. "AID"

Acceptance of the gift is further gall to the U.S. State Department. Fearing military commitments it might be called on to make, the Burmese government has consistently refused to accept "free" technical and economic aid from the U.S. Actually, American economic and technical aid (the so-called Point Four Program) is an adjunct of Washington's subsidies to its military allies.

Thus according to the Dec. 4 N. Y. Times "$500,000,000 of this year's non-military program is devoted to propping up the economies of South Korea and Formosa so that they can carry their enormous military burdens." Total U.S. foreign "aid" appropriation to all Asia — military and economic combined — stands at 1.3 billion for 1955. The share for India — a non-ally — is a paltry $40 million.

The national independence movement in Asia and Africa is rising and as it does, the crisis of U.S. imperialism grows deeper. At the present stage the independence movement is led by the Asian and African capitalist classes, who struggle only for the kind of reforms within the imperialist structure that will allow them room for limited growth. Nor do the Kremlin bureaucrats wish to destroy the imperialist system. They want only to break down Wall Street's military alliances that ring the Soviet bloc. In exchange, they have repeatedly offered the U.S. Big Business government a status quo deal at the expense of the working class movement in the West and independence movement in the colonies.

But so desperate is Wall Street to bring the whole world under its unchallenged sway that the maneuvers of the colonial bourgeoisie and the Kremlin represent intolerable fetters on its plans. And worse is yet to come for the greedy and arrogant would-be world conquerors in the United States.

The workers and peasants in the colonial lands — unlike the Nehru's and Khrushchev's — play the anti-imperialist game for keeps. When they place revolutionary parties at their head, they will repeat throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America the kind of lasting victory over imperialism scored by the Russian workers and peasants in 1917.

World Events

IN TUNISIA, after six months of "home rule" granted by the French, there has been "no magic solution for the tin-can villages, poverty and unemployment which gave the Tunisian revolution a large share of its momentum," reports Barrett McGurn in the Dec. 10 N.Y. Herald Tribune. There are still 400,000 to 700,000 unemployed out of a population of 3,500,000. French imperialism still holds all the commanding positions in the economy. "Veterans of the Tunisian rebel force who fought the French in hills and countryside of this country until a year ago met during the last week to lament their economic conditions and, in some cases, to threaten a return to rebel action," says McGurn. A majority of Tunisians still back the moderate nationalists led by Habib Bourguiba, whose program is continued negotiations with France. But a substantial minority—especially among the unemployed, former resistance fighters and Moslem religious groups have rallied around Sallah ben Youssef, former secretary of the Neo-Destour party, who was expelled by the moderate faction last month. On Nov. 18, ben Youssef addressed a mass meeting of 15,000 in the Tunis Stadium calling for renewed struggle against the French. Hassan Bakhouri, Egyptian representative at the Neo-Destour conference, also spoke at the mass rally, praising ben Youssef.

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MOROCCO'S new cabinet assumed its functions on Dec. 7. Its 21 members include nine representatives of Istiqlal, six of the Democratic Independence party, four independent nationalists, including Si Bekkai, the new premier, and one representative of the Jewish community. There are no spokesmen for the "traditionalists"—i.e. the pashas who collaborated with the French. The cabinet represents the Moroccan capitalist and middle classes and includes seven lawyers, two engineers, two shopkeepers, three journalists, one teacher, one alem, two civil servants. The average age is 40. At its recently concluded conference, Istiqlal—leading nationalist party—demanded full independence for Morocco "within and without," territorial unity (Morocco is divided into French, Spanish and International zones) and a constitutional monarchy. It proposed that French residents in Morocco have only the right of all other non-Moroccans. Istiqlal, however, emphasized in its program for the Jewish communities that their members should have all political and civic rights, including the right to vote, to stand as candidates for Moroccan assemblies and enter all Moroccan state services. These presumably are to be denied the French. In a written press interview reported in the Dec. 11 N.Y. Times, Allal el Fassi, leader of the Istiqlal party and member of the cabinet stated that the Army of Liberation would continue its operations against the French until Morocco attained full independence. He also called on the Spanish government to give prompt recognition to Moroccan independence and expressed the hope Spain would give up Spanish Morocco to speed territorial integration. In an obvious bid for U.S. support, el Fassi declared that an independent Morocco would line up with the West in the cold war. However, at the Istiqlal conference, a number of delegates asked that the whole topic of U.S. air bases in Morocco should be reconsidered, because the U.S. had not supported the Moroccan cause in the UN.

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THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT has called off its anti-French crusade over the airwaves and in Cairo newspapers following resumption by the French Government of arms shipments to Egypt. According to O.M. Marashian in the Dec. 9 Christian Science Monitor, Egyptian authorities have also withdrawn support from "extremist nationalists" in Tunisia and Morocco in favor of the moderates who want negotiations with France for "reforms" short of full-fledged independence. This move followed recent conversations between Egyptian Premier Nasser and French Ambassador de Chayla. French imperialism hopes in this way to obtain a base of support among Arabs in North Africa. In addition to shipping $50 million worth of arms, the French promised the Egyptian government to again become a top buyer of Egyptian cotton.

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IN MONTREAL, 2,500 students demonstrated before City Hall on Dec. 10 over increase of bus fares. They carried placards reading "Inflation, Damnation" and "Lower Fares, Mr. Mayor." They were joined by scores of other indignant citizens. In the course of pitched battle against the police, 172 streetcars and 62 buses were reduced to junk.

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Revolt on Southern Campus

It is significant that the most militant demonstrations of both workers and students in 1955 took place in the South.

Earlier this year Southern telephone and railroad strikers inspired workers throughout the land by the solidarity, ingenuity and fighting spirit they exhibited. This month the students on four Georgia campuses showed the Southern white ruling class that it has the youth, as well as the workers, to contend with.

Georgia Governor Marvin Griffin started something Dec. 2 when he called on the State Board of Regents to stop Georgia Tech's football team from playing Pittsburgh in the Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans Jan. 2. He started something he couldn't finish.

That night 2,500 Georgia Tech students demonstrated their protest against the racist attempt to bar intercollegiate games with non-segregated teams and audiences. The youths made headlines throughout the nation by their ridicule of the Governor, their contempt for the South's traditions (putting a can on the head of Confederate General John Gordon), and their refreshing disregard for local and state police and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

They dispersed only after being assured intervention on their behalf by a member of the state legislature, and when students arrested by the police were released.

On Dec. 5 the State Board of Regents met and issued a compromise decision. They voted to permit Georgia Tech to keep its contract to play Jan. 2, but adopted a policy that would bar such games in the future. Two hours later students on two other campuses demonstrated their opposition to this ruling by again burning the Governor in effigy. In Athens 500 University of Georgia students demonstrated, and at Emory University, a Methodist supported institution without a football team, 500 students carried out a similar action.

At Mercer University, a Baptist institution at Macon, a similar protest against state intervention in athletics along white supremacist lines was held.

On Dec. 7, in the fifth student demonstration in the state, 1500 University of Georgia men hung an effigy of Dean of Men William Tate for disciplining students who participated in a "sympathy" rally Dec. 5. Police used tear gas against the youths and state highway patrolmen arrested two students.

These student actions are only the beginning. In Florida a group of University of Miami students posted placards on school bulletin boards Dec. 5 urging students to sign petitions asking admission of Negroes. How many similar movements are afoot in colleges throughout the South is not known.

And it is not only in the South that students are beginning to intervene in the fight against Jim Crow. In Los Angeles last June students and faculty protested, then boycotted commencement exercises because Gov. Shivers of Texas, an outspoken foe of integration, gave the major address.

At New Haven, Conn., six Yale societies last week protested an invitation by the Yale Law School Conservative Society to Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook to discuss "The Southern View of Segregation" at a public meeting. Students demanded that the subject be thrown open to free discussion "so that both sides of the question" might be heard.

Northern liberals in the past have wept crocodile tears over the plight of Negroes in the South, and have condemned provocative actions like that of Gov. Griffin. But signs of deep stirrings among the workers, as in the big strikes and student demonstrations this year are another matter. The danger that labor and the youth in the North might follow such examples worries some of the editors and politicians. In a Dec. 4 editorial the Cleveland Plain Dealer observed: "College students, no matter how worthy their cause, gain nothing by violent demonstrations."

But the Plain Dealer notwithstanding, Georgia Tech will play Pitt at the Sugar Bowl Jan. 2.

Got Any Pennies?

By Reba Aubrey

"There's plenty of pennies — we estimate that 20,000,000,000 are in circulation. It's just a question of where they are." This is the problem, strangely enough, that is puzzling the Treasury's Bureau of the Mint today.

For three months the mints in Philadelphia and Denver have been coining nothing but pennies — 6,000,000 of them a day. Both mints are on a double shift of eight hours each. But still the pinch is on. Where are all those pennies going?

Money circles, pondering this important and perplexing question, dismiss the hypothesis that they are being hoarded. They also dismiss the possibility that some users of refined copper are melting them down. Copper might be scarce but not that scarce. You can buy scrap copper at 40 to 40½ cents a pound. A pound of pennies would cost $1.50.

Besides if you're caught melting them down you get five years in prison or a $1,200 fine or both.

Money circles seem baffled by the mystery, but I think I can give them a clue.

I don't want to mention any names, but more than a few people I know jangle pennies in their jeans. Not because they wouldn't rather listen to the music of bigger coins. As a matter of fact, it is rather disconcerting to delve into a purseful of change only to come up with a couple of dimes and a handful of pennies.

Today the penny is an important item in getting along in this world. For instance, you must have pennies to pay sales taxes. If you don't have them to start with, you pay anyway and end up with pennies as part of your change.

You need extra pennies for the 10-cent loaf of bread that is now 17 or 18 cents. Pennies for the 10-cent quart of milk that is now 22 to 24 cents. Pennies for carfare that's jumped from a nickel or a dime to 13, 17 or 21 cents. Pennies for parking meters. Pennies for vending machines. Pennies for cigarettes. . .

Multiply this list by forescore and some — it will be obvious to you, if not to the Treasury's Bureau of the Mint, where the pennies are going. Not far, that's for sure, but fast — in the torrent of coins needed to meet those odd amounts that have come with the increased cost of living.

Notes from the News

THE SPECTER OF COMMUNISM is haunting NAM president Cola G. Parker. In support of his contention that the U.S. is "well on the way to . . . a Communist state as blueprinted by Marx," he cited the existence of unions, social security, fair employment measures and the dollar-an-hour minimum wage.

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CORPORAL PUNISHMENT for school children was proposed to the New Jersey State legislature as a means of combating juvenile delinquency. The proposal was made by the state Bar Association at its midwinter conference on Dec. 10. The lawyers group said that the legal right to beat students will help teachers "guard their right to receive the respect due their profession."

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CONCERN FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM in the U.S. was expressed by the American Jewish Committee in a resolution of Dec. 10 which condemned the "increasing pressures to introduce religious instruction and practices into the schools." The resolution scored the recent directive of the New York Superintendent of Schools instructing teachers to step up religious indoctrination. It also characterized the directive as an evasion and compromise of the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom and the separation of church and state.

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AN UNDERGROUND PLANT is being considered by the American Machine and Foundry Co. A company spokesman says they are planning to build such a plant in Alabama for reasons of economy of construction as well as security against air attack.

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I.F. STONE'S WEEKLY SUES EASTLAND COMMITTEE. After rejecting the request of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee for a subscription to his paper, I. F. Stone filed suit for an injunction against such expenditures. Stone will ask the court to rule that expenditure of public funds for the purpose of maintaining a surveillance of the press is a violation of the first amendment.

* * *

BUTCHERS BLAST ARMY STRIKEBREAKING. The continued purchase of meat by the U.S. Army from a San Antonio, Texas, provision house with full knowledge that its workers have been on strike for ten months has been branded by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen as "strikebreaking." Labor's Daily reported Dec. 2 that the union demands of Army Secretary Brucker that he order an immediate stop to purchases from the firm until it "ceases its union-busting activity."

* * *

PICKET WHITE HOUSE. A score of men and women representing the Amnesty Demonstration Committee picketed the White House Dec. 10 demanding that President Eisenhower grant "Christmas Amnesties" to conscientious objectors imprisoned during World War II. Among their banners were: "World War II Objectors still being punished ten years after war's end" and "Amnesty granted in many lands. Why not us?"

* * *

AWARE, the McCarthyite outfit that has been sparking the blacklisting campaign in the theatrical industry, received a sharp setback in the executive board elections of the New York local of the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists. A "middle-of-the-road" group which opposed AWARE's smear activities elected 27 to the 35-member board. John Henry Faik, spokesman for the winning group, declared the first concern of a union official should be the employment of his members, not blacklisting them.

* * *

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS RESIDENTS are calling a "sink or swim" meeting of all citizens on Dec. 31 to focus attention to their plight. Over 30,000 families are receiving government surplus food in the 15 lower counties of southern Illinois. Thousands of coal miners and others are walking the streets looking for work.

Storm Center

Storm center of Georgia student demonstrations, Negro fullback Bobby Grier (center) is shown with University of Pittsburgh teammates, reading reports of Gov. Marvin Griffin's threat to block the Sugar Bowl game with Georgia Tech.

L.A. Fire Commissioners Quake at Chief's Defiance

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 10—Fire Chief John H. Alderson, in the most insolent act of his insolent career, this week rudely informed the Board of Fire Commissioners that he had transferred five Negro firemen back to the all-Negro stations on Central Avenue, thereby wiping out all traces of integration in the department.

"That's all there is to it, my friends," he stated defiantly. "I took this action and I stand behind this action."

Proving once again by his boldness that he is the undisputed boss and that he will tolerate no interference in running the Fire Department, the arrogant chief snapped his fingers at the policy laid down by his superiors and at their explicit order to integrate the department.

KENWORTHY VICTIMIZED

On the very day that Alderson carried out this gross act of insubordination, he dismissed from the service on the trumped-up grounds of "insubordination" a white fireman, Keith Kenworthy, who was "guilty" of refusing to insult and humiliate Negroes who for a brief period were transferred to "white" stations.

In the face of Alderson's defiance, the Fire Commissioners, as in the past, appeared paralyzed. Instead of suspending him on the spot for disobedience, they tried to reason with him and show the error of his ways. In addition, they decided to confer with the city attorney to see what steps can be taken to put integration into operation.

Some weeks ago, when the commissioners made a mild gesture toward reproving the chief and indicated disapproval of the cruel treatment accorded two Negroes by white firemen, Alderson threatened to resign. The commissioners hastened to assure him they had no desire for him to withdraw. Alderson, however, without giving any formal notice to the commissioners, called a press conference and informed reporters he planned to retire about Jan. 1, but he has since hedged on that statement and it still remains to be seen whether he will in fact pull out.

As the pretext for transferring the five Negro firemen back to Central Avenue, Alderson invented a threat of a race riot, though there hasn't been a hint of any demonstration of any kind much less a riot.

"We have avoided a very serious situation," he declared, "not within the department but outside the department. . . We are not about to permit a riot to occur. . . We are not going to have a fire station guarded by police to prevent carloads of Negroes from following fire trucks to fires. I think it would be a disgraceful thing to have a riot — an obscene affair — created around the Fire Department."

Asked if he would inform the police of any evidence he had of riot conditions created around any engine houses, he replied: "No. I'm not apt to turn this matter over to the Police Department."

The firing of Kenworthy for "wilful disobedience" followed a kangaroo court hearing before a three-man Board of Rights, made up of Alderson's henchmen.

Kenworthy was first suspended last May after he had welcomed a Negro fireman to the station where he was acting captain. Given a six month's suspension, he returned to duty three weeks ago, but was permitted to remain on the job for only a few hours.

The trial board refused to allow him to bring in any evidence regarding the race issue though that was the sole basis of the disciplinary action taken against him.

CHIEF "I-AM-THE-LAW"

By his latest actions Chief "I-Am-The-Law" Alderson has again shown that as long as he is in office Negro firemen will be confined to Jim Crow stations and will be deprived of their rights within the department.

A demonstration of the feelings of the Negro community regarding Alderson and his policies is long past due. The NAACP has the responsibility of calling for such a demonstration, and asking the support of the labor movement, to let the city fathers know that the people of this city demand the firing of Alderson and full integration in the Fire Department now.

...Troops to Miss.

(Continued from page 1)

letter places the blame for the lynch-terror squarely on the White Citizens Councils whose membership includes "businessmen, bankers, plantation owners, state and county officials." Then it names the names of the big Dixiecrat politicians supporting this 1955-model KKK and asks: "Are these **purveyors of hate**, from **Mississippi's hell-hole** bigger than the U.S. government? Can they defy the laws of the land and the moral conscience of America?"

The letter closes on a warning note: **"Unless Mississippi Negroes feel that their government** will give them the **protection** that their state **refuses** to give them, anything can happen.

"We know, Mr. President, that Negroes are getting tired of being pushed around. They're law-abiding citizens, but they're preparing to **protect themselves."**

HOW TO STOP TERROR

The importance of the demand for federal troops is that it goes to the very heart of the problem. Other proposals — praiseworthy in themselves — made by Negro and labor leaders missed the heart of the question, which was: How can something effective be done to stop the Mississippi terror? National leaders of the NAACP and the unions spoke of the need for Congress to pass anti-lynching and other civil rights laws, of the need for the FBI to investigate, etc. All this was true but the key point in Mississippi is **enforcement.** There are laws against murder and yet white supremacists there have immunity from the law. There are laws and court decisions that Negroes have the right to vote yet Negroes are not allowed to vote in the Delta.

All the civil rights laws are needed and should be passed, but they will be flouted by the Mississippi authorities, as the present laws and constitutional rights of the Negro people are flouted. What is needed is **to enforce** the civil rights of the Negro people in Mississippi, including the right to vote, to punish swiftly all those who threaten, injure or lynch Negroes.

Federal troops sent to Mississippi could take over all law enforcement and stay there until Negro rights were fully established. This would undoubtedly result in the election of a large number of Negro sheriffs and mayors in the Delta region where the terror is now the worst and where the Negro people are in an overwhelming majority.

The demand for the sending of federal troops to Mississippi was first raised by Socialist Workers Party speakers at meetings throughout the U.S. soon after the freeing of 14-year-old Emmett Till's lynchers showed that lynch law was officially sanctioned in Mississippi. The SWP meetings, raising this demand began in Detroit on Oct. 7 and are still going on elsewhere in the country. The Militant, in a front-page editorial on Oct. 17 called for troops. That Negro militants were thinking along the same lines was demonstrated that same month when the Chicago branch of the NAACP called for the sending of federal troops to the lynch state. The Illinois Conference of NAACP branches soon endorsed the Chicago branch's proposal.

At the AFL-CIO merger convention Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, speaking on the civil rights resolution urged a federal "trusteeship" over Mississippi "until the Bill of Rights, the rights of all citizens of that state, are assured and guaranteed." This is a hopeful indication that some of the labor leaders, who so far have been more interested in playing footsie with top Democratic politicians than in fighting the lynch terror, will now demand effective action against the Mississippi white supremacists.

The Memphis World, a leading Negro paper in the South, on Dec. 2 concluded an editorial on Mississippi with the statement: "If need be, the armed forces should be brought in as in other cases where law enforcement breaks down."

It is one thing to raise the correct demand — in this case federal military intervention in Mississippi — it is another thing to get it. How can it be achieved when the Republican administration and the Democratic leaders have ignored lesser demands for FBI investigations of the Till lynching and other outrages in the South? This is where Dr. Howard's proposal for a giant March on Washington gives the answer.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The politicians of both Big Business parties were able to toss NAACP and labor demands for action on the Till case in the wastebasket because they felt that nothing more would follow such demands. A march of one million people, demanding action, could not be ignored. The mere threat of such a March on Washington, raised by A. Philip Randolph in 1941, scared the Roosevelt administration into ordering a federal FEPC.

The Negro people and the labor movement have the millions who want to do something effective against Jim Crow and the reign of terror in Mississippi. Here is the opportunity to make that power and that determination felt. Every Negro organization and every union local should begin preparations for a March on Washington to demand the sending of troops to Mississippi.

F. I. Features "Youth In Delinquent Society"

By Carl Goodman

Readers of The Militant who have followed Joyce Cowley's articles on the problems of young people, will be delighted with the Fall 1955 issue of the Marxist quarterly, Fourth International, off the press this week. Her analysis is presented there in the complete and unhurried manner permitted by a full-length magazine article and unites all her shorter Militant pieces into a finely woven whole. "Youth in a Delinquent Society," is its title.

In her customary lively style — now quietly ironic, now indignant—Joyce Cowley reviews all the standard explanations for the growth of juvenile crime from parental negligence to lurid comic books. She shows these to be either wholly false or superficial and directs attention to such basic causes as the threat of war and the witch hunt. She cites a number of serious sociological studies and expert opinions to back up her own Marxist judgment.

In The Polio Vaccine Scandal —The Case for Socialized Medicine, Theodore Edwards, a welcome newcomer to the pages of the F.I., launches a scathing indictment on the anarchy of private medical practice in the United States. He presents a detailed comparison of the profit-first way the polio vaccine was handled in the U.S. under "free enterprise" — defended by the American Medical Association and the Federal Government— and in Canada, where the government took charge of the vaccination program. The result: unqualified success in Canada, a sordid mess in the U.S. Edwards then exposes the backwardness of the whole system of medical practice in this country.

FOSTER'S CAREER

An appraisal of the career of William Z. Foster is presented in a new installment of Early Years of the American Communist Movement—Letters to a Historian by James P. Cannon, a leader of the CP in the 1920's and founder of the Socialist Workers Party. In these letters Cannon pursues one goal relentlessly: to tell the truth as he saw it, without malice or extenuation, in order that a new generation of militants may learn from the experiences of the pioneer revolutionary movement in the U.S.

Cannon gives Foster full credit for the "outstanding talent, energy and driving will" that made him a "trade-union organizer without a peer." But in a few powerful sentences, Cannon uncovers Foster's infirmity of character, which led him to sacrifice principle, pride and self respect and caused his degeneration into a time-server in the Stalinist machine.

The Fall issue of Fourth International continues the publication of the work of G. V. Plekhanov, the brilliant Russian Marxist, on the philosophy of revolution. This is cast in the form of a political biography of the Russian literary critic, Belinski. Plekhanov presents the development of social thought from rationalism — the dominant thinking of the French and American revolutionaries at the end of the 18th Century — to Hegelian idealism to Marxism through the ideological development of the "genius-critic," as he calls Belinski. The work is made available in English thanks to the excellent translation by John G. Wright.

The book review section—always a popular feature of the Fourth International — presents an account by George Lavan of a new work on Marcus Garvey, the "Black Moses," which tells of a period in Negro history known previously in the main only by hearsay. Also reviews of von Solomon's Fragebogen, Killens' Youngblood, Woodward's Origin of West Virginia, and Ehrenburg's The Thaw. The Fourth International sells for 35 cents.

...AFL-CIO MERGER

(Continued from page 1)

ment, the coalescence of 15 million workers in the AFL-CIO, plus the two million in unaffiliated unions, must inevitably result in the formation of a labor party and the emergence of labor as a challenger for political power in the United States.

In reply to the NAM's charge that labor sought to "direct the destinies of the nation," Meany replied, "No chance of that. We have no such power."

Meany is dead wrong. Labor has the power to rally behind it the overwhelming majority of the American people and take the leadership of the United States into its own hands. Only a consciousness of that power is lacking. And the class struggle that produced the giant labor movement of today will in its further unfoldment also produce a new consciousness and a new leadership that will use that power to break the stranglehold of Big Business on the life of America.

Unfortunately the power of labor still remains potential, not actual. Big Business recoils with an apprehensive reflex at the specter of a labor party emerging from the united union federation. This is an anticipation. The present situation, however, was apparent at the merger convention last week when the Democratic contenders for presidential nomination, Stevenson and Harriman, were paraded and given huge ovations.

ORGANIZING DRIVE

A more immediate source of concern to the NAM can be found in the AFL-CIO convention decisions on the organization of the unorganized. The convention delegates listened with great interest to the reports of the new director of organization, John W. Livingston and a speech by Walter Reuther. The AFL-CIO is publicly pledged to carry out a great organization drive. The duPont chemical empire and the textile workers of the South have been prominently mentioned as targets. The goal is set for doubling the AFL-CIO membership to 30 million.

Thurgood Marshall, head of the NAACP legal department, told the convention, **"Organized labor must insist not only on organization in the South but must insist that it be done throughout the South on a completely integrated basis without any compromise in the slightest detail to the segregation policies prevailing in areas of the South."**

Such an organizing drive in the South is imperatively necessary, even from the point of view of the self-protection of the presently organized unions against the low wages and open-shop conditions that threaten to make inroads into the organized section of American industry.

But the caliber of organizers and the crusading, militant policies a large-scale Southern drive requires are not favored in the union movement today. More often than not the militant unionist who could give a good account of himself on the picket line, lead a strike, and carry out an organizing project with energy and determination, is being hounded and silenced by the bureaucrats.

MEANY'S CREDENTIALS

Meany summed up the caliber of the union leader that is today glorified by the bureaucrats in his conversation with Sligh: "I never went on strike in my life," he boasted, "never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. I have no experience with that type of power."

Meany won't be much good in the South with that kind of experience. What is needed are Negro and white working men and women who will fearlessly join with the kind of native militants who revealed themselves in the recent Southern telephone and railroad strikes, to organize a great economic, social and political revolution and crack the power of the Bourbons. That's what the organization of the South means, and only people who have that understanding will be able to carry it through.

The AFL-CIO is destined to write a glorious page in American history. It will be the arena for the emergence of a new generation of class-conscious left wingers who will indeed lead the working class and America to its socialist future.

The Teamsters Union is still crossing the picket lines of Westinghouse strikers in Columbus, Ohio. Labor's Daily reported Dec. 10 that Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters, said the Columbus local was free to do as it wished in the matter since each local has "autonomy."

New York

Have a Good Time!

New Year's Eve

at the

Militant Hall

116 University Pl.

●

Sat., Dec. 31, 9:30 P. M.

●

Dancing Favors | Refreshments Noisemakers